

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L USUN 3526

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UN, KS, KN

SUBJ: KOREA IN 28TH GA: PERSPECTIVE ON TACTICS

1. IN TWO DAYS OF CONSULTATIONS THIS WEEK BETWEEN ROK MISSION AND USUN, IN WHICH ROK IO AND DEPT (IO/UNP) REPS PARTICIPATED, WE ASSESSED CURRENT VOTING ATTITUDES TOWARD OUR OMNIBUS RESOLUTION. ASSESSMENT WAS NECESSARILY TENTATIVE AND PRELIMINARY SINCE WE HAVE INADEQUATE REACTION FROM SOME CAPITALS AND DELEGATIONS ON WHICH TO BASE PRECISE PROJECTION OF VOTE. SOME MARGINAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN KOREAN AND US SIDES NOTWITHSTANDING, WE CONCLUDED, ON BASIS CONSERVATIVE COUNTRY-BY-COUNTRY ESTIMATE, THAT AT THIS POINT WE MUST THINK IN TERMS OF FAVORABLE MARGIN FOR OUR RESOLUTION OF SIX TO EIGHT VOTES. (DETAILS POUCHED IO/UNP).

2. WE HAVE LESS SPECIFIC INFORMATION ON WHICH TO BASE ASSESSMENT OF VOTING ON OPPOSITION RESOLUTION, BUT WE PROJECT SLIGHTLY GREATER MARGIN ON BEHALF OF THAT RESOLUTION THAN ON BEHALF OF OURS. VOTES ON EITHER RESOLUTION, OF COURSE, CAN BE INFLUENCED BY CONTINUED LOBBYING, BY PSYCHOLOGICAL ATMOSPHERE EXISTING AT TIME OF ACTUAL VOTING, BY RESULT OF PRELIMINARY PROCEDURAL VOTING ON SUCH MATTERS AS PRIORITY AND BY OTHER FACTORS THAT CANNOT BE ANTICIPATED AT THIS TIME.

3. WHATEVER MAY BE CASE WHEN ISSUE COMES TO VOTE, IT
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WOULD BE UNWISE TO COUNT ON MAINTAINING A DECISIVELY SOLID AND WIDE MARGIN. WE BELIEVE THAT SUPPORTERS OF DPRK ARE PROBABLY IN SAME POSITION, BELIEVING THAT VICTORY IN FIRST CMTE CAN BE ACHIEVED, BUT NOT WHOLLY

CONFIDENT. NARROWNESS OF MARGIN ON EITHER RESOLUTION NOW INEVITABLY RAISES QUESTIONS ALSO ABOUT ABILITY OF EITHER SIDE, SHOULD IT COME TO THAT, TO OBTAIN TWO-THIRDS MAJORITY FOR ITS RESOLUTION IN PLENARY.

4. THIS MURKY SITUATION, IN WHICH NEITHER SIDE CAN BE WHOLLY CONFIDENT OF OUTCOME, UNDOUBTEDLY HAS CONTRIBUTED TO RECENT FREQUENT MENTION OF CONCILATION AND COMPROMISE. FROM REPORTS FROM CAPITALS, FROM COMMENTS AND QUESTIONS THAT HAVE BEEN PUT TO US OR TO OTHERS BY SUCH DELEGATIONS AS IRAN, SINGAPORE, TURKEY, AUSTRIA, SWEDEN, NEW ZEALAND, FRANCE, JAPAN AND CHINA; BY SENIOR SOVIET (SHEVCHENKO) IN SECRETARIAT, BY UN LEGAL COUNSEL STAVROPOULOS; BY PRESS, AND BY SAUDI ARABIAN DELEGATE BAROODY IN GENERAL CMTE -- FROM THESE VARIOUS SOURCES AND OTHERS WE HAVE IMPRESSION OF GROWING TALK OF COMPROMISE AND OF EXPECTATION THAT BY TIME OF VOTE SIGNIFICANT CHANGES WILL HAVE BEEN MADE IN EACH RESOLUTION OR THAT TWO RESOLUTIONS WILL HAVE BEEN MERGED BY COMPROMISE. THIS MOOD REFLECTED IN BROAD WELCOME ACCORDED TO NON-CONTENTIOUS PASSAGE OF KOREAN ITEM THROUGH GENERAL CMTE AND TO WELL-KNOWN BUT QUIET EFFORTS BY BOTH SIDES TO WORK OUT CONSENSUS ARRANGEMENT FOR INVITATIONS FOR TWO KOREAS' PARTICIPATION IN FIRST CMTE DEBATE. SECRETARY'S SEPT. 26 PRESS CONF REMARKS ON KOREA ALSO, WE BELIEVE, WILL BE SEEN IN THIS CONTEXT.

5. THIS EXPECTATION, WHICH WE ASSUME WILL REMAIN AND GROW DURING AUTUMN, PROBABLY WILL CONTINUE TO CONTRIBUTE TO RELUCTANCE BY MANY OF OUR TARGET COUNTRIES TO COMMIT THEMSELVES TO VOTE FOR OUR RESOLUTION AND AGAINST OPPOSITION RESOLUTION. IT ALSO MEANS WE PROBABLY WILL BE PRESSED INCREASINGLY HARD TO SHOW SOME "FLEXIBILITY" ON OUR RESOLUTION, SUCH AS DELETION OF OPERATIVE PARA THREE AND CHANGE IN OPERATIVE PARA FOUR, AND/OR PRESSED TO CONSIDER MERGER OF TWO RESOLUTIONS.

6. WHATEVER THIS MOOD MAY ULTIMATELY PRODUCE, WE BELIEVE
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THAT WE MUST CONTINUE TO LOBBY HARD NOW FOR OUR RESOLUTION AS IT STANDS AND FOR COMMITMENTS TO VOTE AGAINST OPPOSITION RESOLUTION. RISKS OF BANDWAGON EFFECT ARE ALWAYS WITH US. WE MUST, WHILE WE WOULD NOT WISH TO APPEAR TOTALLY "INFLEXIBLE", AVOID LENDING PREMATURE ENCOURAGEMENT TO TALK OF "COMPROMISE" BECAUSE WE CANNOT AFFORD TO IMPLY LACK OF CONFIDENCE IN OUR POSITION. DEFEAT OF OPPOSITION RESOLUTION MUST REMAIN OUR PRIMARY GOAL AT THIS GA; ADOPTION OF OUR RESOLUTION, WHICH HAS BEEN DESIGNED IN PART TO DRAW STRENGTH FROM OPPOSITION, IS SECONDARY GOAL. IN ANY EVENT, IF WE ARE TO HANDLE FROM POSITION OF MAXIMUM STRENGTH ANY FUTURE MEANINGFUL PRESSURES FOR RAPPROCHEMENT WE MUST WORK AT THIS STAGE

AS VIGOROUSLY AS POSSIBLE TOWARD TWO GOALS, WHILE
CONTINUING TO MONITOR FACTORS THAT MIGHT ULTIMATELY MAKE
IT ADVISABLE OR WORTH OUR WHILE TO CONSIDER LANGUAGE
CHANGES OR EFFORTS TO MERGE.
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